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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1782.

Selections.

LECTURE ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

On Monday evening, March 4, a lecture on the orig-
ins and results of the American rebellion was deliv-
ered at the hall of the Mechanics' Institution, in Stock-
port, (England), by Mr. J. H. Estcott, of Manchester.
The lecture was attended by a large number of persons,
and was most interesting. The lecturer, Mr. Estcott,
introduced the lecture. There were on the platform
Mr. Alderman Chapman, Mr. W. Forrester, Mr.
Robinson, Mr. Hindle, &c. &c.

Mr. Estcott then proceeded to make an able and
lucid speech, the concluding portion of which we give
below:—
Observe some of the results of the rebellion. The
Slave States have been passed, whereby free land
can be obtained by free settlers in perpetuity; Kan-
sas has been admitted a free State; slavery has been
abolished in Columbia district, Western Virginia,
Maryland, Missouri, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas,
and in process in Kentucky and Delaware; Haiti
and Liberia, two colored republics, have been recog-
nized; the right of search in vessels trading from
Africa has been guaranteed by treaty, a slave-trading
Captain hung, and every man, of whatever col-
or, declared a citizen, and competent to witness in
court of justice. (Applause.)

Now we come to the election of 1864. The ques-
tion to be decided was:—Shall the Union live, or
shall slavery reign? and the people by millions de-
clared that the Union should live, and that slavery
should die. (Loud applause.) It was a sublime
proclamation for the contemplation of a world, that of
a people, in the midst of an unprovoked civil con-
flict, every feeling of the human heart was appeal-
ing to go to the ballot-box quietly and in the most
orderly manner, endorsing the policy of the govern-
ment, and electing their rulers for another term of
years, selecting again that noble, honest, true-heart-
ed man, Abraham Lincoln, and saving effectively
the Union from the grasp of the rebel. It was a
proclamation that can be upheld even in the most crit-
ical time of a nation's life, and proving that a strong govern-
ment may rest upon the will of the people as well
as on the divine right of kings. (Applause.) See,
too, in how dignified a position it placed the Presi-
dent, how well he sustained himself. No vaunt-
ing, no boasting in oratory. Said he, "I do not im-
agine the motives of any one who opposed me. It
is a pleasure to me to triumph over any one. Gold
is not in my place, but living, brave, patriotic men
are better than gold. So long as I have been here,
I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's
side. Noble, Christian, generous words these—
"now remembering, worthy of example to us all.
That that declaration in the President's Message,
"I will not return any man to bondage. If you, the people, re-
turn me to undo my emancipation decree, another
man will do it. And so a thorn Abraham Lin-
coln upon the highest pinnacle of honor—the savior
and emancipator of a race. (Loud applause.)

And now we come to the grand climax of legisla-
tion. On the 31st of January, 1865, at mid of night,
the capital at Washington was crowded with peo-
ple. The Senate was open put an end to the doubt-
ful question of the Constitution, by which slavery
was to be abolished and prohibited forever within
the dominions of the United States. As vote after
vote was announced, now "mid hushed silence, and
now with ringing cheers, it came to the crisis of
the voting. How will the doubtful democratic vote?
The suspense was soon put an end to, the doubtful
one became certain, and "yea" followed "yea" until
the required majority was obtained; and "yea"
followed "yea" until more were polled; and then,
with one burst of joy and exultation, the capital
was made to resound with the cheering of a vast
multitude, roused with ecstasy and with their cloth-
es; and the morning ushered in the great event of
the rebellion, and the greatest in the history of
America. (Applause.) A day to be honored all
over the world, and to be remembered for all time.
(Applause.)

"How all the Legislatures of the States vote?"
was the next cry. Well, in eleven subsequent days,
eleven States had ratified the amendment, and fore-
most stood Maryland, who, freed and in her right
mind, said "Amen." Then New York, Missouri,
Massachusetts, Indiana, Illinois, (the Egypt of
the South), shaken off her black laws, and she, too,
said "Amen." Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania,
Virginia, Western Virginia, and Rhode Island said
"Amen!" and so on the great record will be
completed when all the States necessary to legally
make it be obtained, and then the jubilee day
will be far distant, when on the soil of America
there will be no more, or move, or have a thing that
(Loud applause.)

It does not require any further proof to show that
if rebellion had only resulted in this one fact, the
benefit of life and treasure would be well made.
But the more we look at the interior life and char-
acter of the American people, the more noble they
become, the more wonderful they appear. Remember
that they have had to sustain the greatest armies
that ever were marshalled on the battle-field, with-
out any preparation for such a purpose, their stand-
ing army and the navy scattered, the treasury
empty, and the whole country in a state of anarchy.
And yet, these valiant and honorable South-
erners who held office under Buchanan, the arms de-
posited in the arsenals of the South, so that when
the blow came and Fort Sumter was fired upon,
there was neither army, navy, arms, nor arsenal.
The trumpet sound of that shot woke up the patri-
otism of the people, and in a few weeks an army of
people, though not of soldiers, was on its march;
untrained but brave, undisciplined but true, un-
equipped but daring; and they fought, were defeated;
their places supplied again; and thus, fighting and
winning, they learned the art of war, and the
battle was carried to the enemy's gate, and victory
was achieved in the triumph of a march by the
military prowess of the freemen.

But, said some wise men, statesmen, or would be
such in this country, "Let the rebels go; give the
Slave States their independence; do not carry out
their law for empire, it is barbarous. Your country
is too large for one government to rule; there ought
to be at least four or five kingdoms on your soil."
And in such wise our great men talked and wrote.
(Of course, English people never hear; we do
not care for them, content with little. We do
dominate.) When Ireland, united to us by consti-
tutional ties of union, rebelled—and she has
done it two or three times—did we let her go? Did
we say, "The channel divides us—geographically
we are entitled to a government of your own—you
are another people, speaking a different language;
we have no right to control you or coerce you." Did
we say that? Let the fact of Ireland being part of
the kingdom now be the answer. (Applause.) When

India, which we had gotten possession of by many
unpleasant and devious means, and with force of
arms at various times kept when she rebelled and
rebelled, did we say, "Thousands of miles of sea
separate us—you people are millions more than our
population at home—you have on your soil many
nationalities of old—many different languages, dif-
ferent customs—you have nothing in common with
us in social, political, or religious points of view—it
is right for you to leave us and rebel, we will not
prevent you? Did we say so? Let the treasure, the
life, the horrors of that war to suppress the rebellion
rebel. And yet, when one people by language,
origin, political institutions, common nationality and
religion, with no geographical obstacle to unity of
soil, but with positive geographical obligations to
unity, with a government the most elastic in the
world—when a portion of such a people, a small im-
portant of them, rebel against the judgment and will
of the majority, we, with philosophical voice, cry out,
"Let them go—you are too large—there is no ho-
mogeneity of people—you cannot live together.
Let slavery succeed, hinder it not. And then when
America heeded not but said, "America for Ameri-
cans, no division of territory or government, one
united and free nation must be," the Atlantic
to the Pacific, from the Lake to the Gulf, "we
condemned them as a boasting, arrogant people, al-
though I believe they are very much like ourselves,
if not a little more modest."

Well, it is decided that there is to be no division,
that there is to be only one nation, and that nation
is to be a free one, and it is not to be put into the
volcanic of bankruptcy, or the abyss of repudiation.
To show the wonderful power of the people, it is
only necessary to say that villages, schools, hospitals,
chapels, clothing, nurses, teachers, missionaries,
agents, books, implements of husbandry, and tools
for industrial pursuits, have all been made, erected,
and supplied by voluntaryism, and heroes and hero-
ines in number sufficient to make a scroll for all the
nations of Europe have been supplied by the patriots
of the nation. (Applause.) No signs of bankruptcy,
no signs of decay here. The republic has not been
the bursting bubble prophesied, but a solid live, and
a finished brute. He thrust all classes of prisoners
in the same ward, making no distinction between
officers, enlisted men, and deserters from either
army. He threatened to buck and gag officers who
were sick. His inhumanity caused him, it is
thought, to be removed by Gen. Hardee.

The officers of the army, and the herded
like cattle in an open lot, where they remained until
dead, lying in mud and water, day in and day
out, without any shelter whatever. Four officers
were deliberately shot by the guards, and five others
lost their lives in trying to escape. Prisoners at
Andersonville, where 36,000 were confined at one
time, died at the rate of 150 to 250 per day. Over
12,000, probably 16,000, perished from starvation
and exposure. Probably from 400 to 500 escaped
from Columbia by bringing the guards. Of this
number half were brought back, and would have
been punished if their return had suggested any
resource. One officer who escaped from the train
between Macon and Charleston was torn to
pieces by bloodhounds. Lieut. Parker of a Vermont
regiment jumped from the train on the way
between Charleston and Columbia. He was set
upon by 13 young bloodhounds in an open field.
He was so badly bitten that he died in the hos-
pital at Columbia. Those who started from
Columbia took the route toward the mountains of
the Blue Ridge.

The negroes would always assist the fugitives;
give them food, and pilot them to the best routes.
They said that their masters generally offered them
a reward to betray a Yankee. In spite of the
tempting reward, they acted the part of the Good
Samaritan in all cases. "They are," say the officers,
"as true as steel in all cases." Capt. Timpon says,
"while waiting at the banks of the Saluda River,
pursued by a pack of hounds, the cavalry mounted
on horseback, and the army of footmen, the slaves of
the opposite shore hearing the baying of the hounds,
one of them pushed into a boat, and rowed rapidly
across. He knew from the sound of the dogs that
they were in pursuit of some Yankee fugitives.
The barking of the hounds grew louder and nearer,
and the fugitives fled to the shore, and were
devoured before the boat could reach the shore.
The faithful negro pulled for dear life, took the
officers into the boat, and bore them in safety be-
hind the reach of the men-hunters and their natural
allies the bloodhounds, at the risk of his own life.
He piloted the officers to the shore, and they were
lying in wait for them, by which means they escap-
ed. The slaves said: "Our masters curse you all
day, but we pray for you every night."

They, the slaves, are rejected at the prospect of
being forced into the Rebel Army. They declare
they will shoot behind, and not before.

Capt. Timpon states that after he was captured
by the guerrillas and half breeds in the mountains,
they turned his hands and his comrades' pockets inside
out, and began quarreling about the distribution. They
seemed to think they had money, and would not give
it up. Their quarrel was about a piece of money.
Meanwhile Capt. Singleton came up; he was a free-
mason, so was Capt. Hayes. The party was saved.
They were marched back to Greenville, C. H., and
put in a dungeon with the negroes who were confin-
ed for murder. The inhabitants, mostly the women,
came to see them. One travelled 17 miles to see
the live Yankees. From a very cautious approach,
she finally discovered that the Yankees were not
wild animals, and at last became sociable, and
thought it a shame to treat people so; she after-
ward brought bread for them to eat.

The party went back to Columbia. The train
ran off the track. Four were killed and 17 wound-
ed. They (the Rebel guard) were badly mutilated,
having legs and arms broken and smashed. The
only two Yankee prisoners escaped. Six weeks
terminated their imprisonment. They are now on
their way, rejoicing, to their friends at home.

Among the officers who arrived here is Lieut. A.
Abbott of New York, who has made a daily
record of the events of prison life in the Confederacy.
He will soon issue a book to be entitled "Letters
from Prison," with pictorial illustrations of places
and scenes through which he and his associate officers
have passed. The book will possess thrilling inter-
est. E. S.

forming a military organization to aid the Union
cause, when he was again arrested, with many of
his neighbors, and this time was sent to Salisbury,
N. C., where he remained till within a few days.
When the exchange of prisoners was agreed upon,
he claimed to be a Northern man, and was allowed to
come out of the prison, that his case might be in-
vestigated, and once out he was able to keep along
with the soldiers, and thus escaped.

He confirms all that has been said, and the worst
that has been said, of the brutal manner in which
the prisoners at Salisbury have been treated. Prison-
ers who spent last summer in the slaughter-pen at
Andersonville, and were in the winter taken to
Salisbury to keep out of the way of Sherman,
declared the Andersonville hell not to be so bad as
the Salisbury hell. In October the number of pris-
oners at Salisbury was said to be two hundred, but
the number was then increased by arrivals from Rich-
mond, and from prisons further south, to ten thou-
sand. The ill treatment commenced with their
arrival, and by death from exposure and starvation,
and by a few escapes, their number was reduced
in February to forty-five hundred. As many as
seventy died in one day, and the average rate of
mortality from October was twenty-five each day.
The stated rations were very poor and very small,
and half the time these were cut down to one-half
or one-fourth. Some days they were withheld
altogether.

The result of this, the men became enfeebled
and discouraged, and soon they sickened and died.
The Rebel officers told them the rate at which they
were dying, and taunted them with the remark that
all who did not enlist in the rebel service would be
dead within a few months. Fifteen hundred men
did enlist in the rebel service, in the hope of saving
themselves from death. Some of these subsequently
escaped to the Federal lines, some were caught attempting
to escape, and were sent back to the prison, while still
others remain in the army.

A Catholic priest was sent to the prison, who
found 800 inmates of that persuasion, who were
taken from the main prison to a place where they
were better treated. After arrangements for the
exchange had all been completed, the rebels told
them that they would be taken back to the main
prison, where they would die like sheep, if they
would not enlist; but to their credit be it said, though
they knew nothing of the arrangements, every man
of them remained true to the Union.

Men who were in need of medicine, in going to
visit a surgeon, passed through a hospital where they
were obliged to step over dead and dying men lying
on the ground. As men died in the hospitals, they
were placed in a row, in just the condition and pos-
ition in which they breathed their last, and sometimes,
when the number was larger than usual, one layer
of dead bodies was placed on top of another. In
the morning they were thrown into the dead-cart in
the most unfeeling manner, and borne away to a
place of burial, where a ditch had been provided for
the purpose. As the cart moved over rough ground, the
bodies were jostled about in a manner not pleasant
to contemplate by those who had reason to believe
that their own turn would come next.

THE ORIGINAL PLATFORM.

Twenty-five years of argument had only brought
the people to the point of slavery restriction, or
non-extinction. Such was the platform on which
Mr. Lincoln began his first term of office. The
rebellion was to be subdued, but slavery left intact,
and dominant in the nation. It was to be left to
blight future States by its immediate presence, and
the people were to be left to choose its own time
to choose its own time to hatch out another rebellion.
It was a grand stride of the people from their stu-
pid pro-slaveryism up to the point of slavery restric-
tion. From Buchanan up to Lincoln the first was
a long march. But it was a longer one from Lin-
coln the first and slavery restriction, up to Lincoln
the second and slavery extinction. He it ever re-
membered, that Mr. Lincoln was called to his sec-
ond term of office in the name and behalf of radical
abolition. The people placed him on a platform
declaring boldly, and with no doubtful meaning,
that "Justice and the public safety demand the
complete and total extinction of slavery from the
soil of the Republic."

"Radical abolitionist," four years ago, was a
phrase applied with a reproachful sense to a class
of men so few in numbers as to be deemed worthy only
of sneers and hisses. Radical abolition was the rav-
ing of heated brains, fanaticism. Who dared predict
the miracle which four years of war would bring?
"Radical abolition," too tame for a platform now
and only those terrible words, "total extinction,"
could express the people's determination, and pro-
gramme for the new term of office to which they
were about to call Mr. Lincoln.

In consequence of the programme of extinction
which he had accepted, Mr. Lincoln at once recom-
mends incorporating slavery extinction in the fun-
damental law of the land, and both Houses of Con-
gress adopted the proposition, and the States take up
the strain, and send it on. Anticipating this grand
movement, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee,
West Virginia, and Maryland, abolished slavery by their
own action. Congress has abolished and prohibited
it in the District of Columbia, and in all the terri-
tories, wiped out the internal slave trade and all fu-
gitive slave laws, while, under the emancipation
proclamation, slavery goes down wherever, in the
victorious march of Sherman, Sheridan, and Schufeldt,
and Thomas, the Stars and Stripes go up. Those
Stars and Stripes now mean freedom. Glorious
flag! at last redeemed!—no more to float over slave-
holders and coffee gardens!—now I hail thee; now strug-
gling millions hail thee! Thy shadow hereafter
will be like the shadow of a great rock. At length
thy folds shall float over the land of the free and
the home of the brave.

But God designs a complete regeneration of the
nation. It was not enough that the Executive
should proclaim freedom to slaves and rebels, and the
legislature freedom to all slaves. While Tancy pre-
sided over the judiciary, freedom was insecure.
The Dred Scott dictum must be buried forever out
of sight, and the Supreme Court regenerated. So
God took Tancy from the bench, and Lincoln, in-
spired by God, put Salmon P. Chase in his stead.
Another such stride upward no nation has ever
made, as when Chase succeeded Tancy in the Su-
preme Jurisdiction of the United States. From Ta-
ncy to Chase is further than from Egypt to Canaan.
In contrast to Tancy's most infamous exposition of
the Constitution, making it strike down every single
right of a whole race, numbering twelve millions,
and smothering around the American Republic, stands
the noble exposition of that same Constitution by
Mr. Chase, made in 1848, and incorporated into the
Buffalo platform of the free soil party. He said,
"Under our government, we can no more make a
slave than a king." This glorious truth is hence-
forth to inspire American jurisprudence; and until
we make kings in this country, we shall make no
more slaves. Hallelujah!

STORY OF A SOUTHERN UNION MAN.

We had a visit yesterday, from Mr. J. P. Hurley,
who has just arrived here from the rebel prison at
Salisbury, N. C. Mr. Hurley is a native of Newton,
but resided many years at Newburyport. In 1849
he went to Bedford, in the southwest part of Vir-
ginia, engaging in mining operations, and there he
resided when the war broke out. Though an active
Democrat, he was true to his love of the Union, and
at an early period of the rebellion he was arrested
by the rebel authorities, and thrown into the county
jail. There he remained some time, but was finally
released. In December, 1863, he was engaged in

the funeral obsequies of the slave-
holding Judge being attended, before his slavehold-
ing dictum followed him to ignominy. One day, not
long ago, the tall, manly form of Charles Sumner
(God bless him!) might have been seen entering
the Supreme Court room. By his side was a Mas-
sachusetts lawyer, well proportioned, good looking,
intelligent. Mr. Sumner moved that his friend, a
member of the bar before the Supreme Court of
Massachusetts, be admitted to plead at the bar of
the Supreme Court of the United States. He was
admitted, the peer of the country's greatest law-
yers, where Webster, Choate, Reverdy Johnson,
and Seward, had achieved their legal fame. The
lawyer was admitted without objection, and that
lawyer was a negro, without mixture of Saxon
blood. If any have tears to shed over the dictum of
Tancy, which spurred Dred Scott from the Court
as a suppliant for justice, because he was a negro,
let them shed them now, for that dictum is dead.

On the 12th of last month, the Rev. Henry
Highland Garnett, one of the most eloquent divines
in America, preached in the National Hall of Rep-
resentatives at Washington, D. C., by invitation of
the Chaplain of the house. The Rev. Dr. Gar-
nett is a negro, and very black. It is the first
instance of the kind in the history of the country.
The world does move; and may God speed its
flight from the dark regions of prejudice to the
warmer and sunnier climes of equity and brother-
hood. D. E. M.

RAISING OF THE FLAG ON FORT SUMTER

A GREAT ANNIVERSARY.

On Saturday, the 13th of April, 1861, the little
garrison of Fort Sumter, under command of Major
Robert Anderson, U. S. A., surrendered to the re-
bels under Beauregard, and on Sunday morning, the
14th of the same month, the fort was formally eva-
cuated. The following is the official report of the
event, made by Major Anderson to the War De-
partment:

STEAMSHIP BALTIMORE, off Sandy Hook,
April 18, 1861—10.30 A. M., via New York.

Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours,
under a bombardment of the rebel batteries, the fort
destroyed by fire, the garrison was seriously injured,
the magazine surrounded by flames, and its doors closed
from the effects of heat; four barrels and three car-
tridges of powder only being available, and no provi-
sions remaining but pork. I accepted terms of evacua-
tion offered by General Beauregard—being the same
offered by him on the 13th instant, prior to the
commencement of hostilities—and marched out of
the fort on Sunday afternoon, the 14th instant, with
colors flying and drums beating, bringing away com-
pany and private property, and saluting my flag with
fifty guns.

ROBERT ANDERSON,
Major First Artillery Commanding.
Hon. SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War, Washington.

The following is a list of the officers of the garrison:

Names.	Rank.	Reg't or Corps.	Original entry into service.	Where born.
R. Anderson,	Major.	1st Art.	July 1, '55.	Ken'y.

city of the dead. There were hundreds, perhaps thousands, of our gallant soldiers sleeping quietly their last sleep, who had given their lives a holy sacrifice for our holy cause. And I thought of reconstruction! It seemed as though a voice rose from the graves of the gallant dead, saying, "Never! Touch it not!" And I called upon God, witness that I had sworn never would; and so help me God, I never will. (Enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.) Life is but a span. Property is but a fleeting shadow. Put me in the grave, but never put on me the garment of a submissionist! (Cheers.)

AN ADDRESS BY HON. WM. D. KELLEY.

An enormous gathering assembled last night at Concert Hall. The occasion was that of an address by Hon. Wm. D. Kelley to the Social, Civil and Statistical Society of Philadelphia. This society, composed of the cultivated and more intelligent portion of the colored people of Philadelphia, has inaugurated a series of meetings, which have been addressed thus far by learned and eloquent men, irrespective of color. This course of lectures has been attended by a large and increasing audience. Frederick Douglass and other Americans of African descent have addressed the association. Last night, Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, following the example of other gentlemen, did so, terminating the course.

As we have said, the house was packed, though the whites predominated in number over the colored people. The band from Camp Wm. Penn gave the music. Their fine brass band of thirty musicians performed with such acceptability that at times the entire audience applauded them. Upon the platform were benevolent Christian gentlemen of both colors, with not a few clergymen, fair and dandy, mingling together as followers of the same Lord, irrespective of complexion, or color of cuticle. Prominent among them was Rev. Stephen Smith, a man of color, who, for thirty years, has been a preacher of the Methodist faith, and who, without reproach, has been a very handsome confidant.

Miss Greenfield, known as the Black Swan, sang, accompanying herself upon the piano by way of preliminary. Mr. Robert Purvis then made the announcement that Judge Kelley would speak, at these words:

Ladies and Gentlemen—I am instructed to announce to you that the lecture of this evening will conclude the course of lectures before the Civil, Social and Statistical Association of this city. Not being a member of that association, I feel free to say—what I am sure is but the feeling of all those who have attended these lectures—that we are greatly indebted to the Committee of Arrangements (of whom Mr. Wm. Still is Chairman) for their excellent and judicious appointments throughout the course.

The formality, ladies and gentlemen, of introducing to you one so well known and honored as the distinguished orator of this evening might well be dispensed with. Judge Kelley's consistent and unswerving fidelity to democratic republican principles has always secured for him the confidence and admiration of every true lover of freedom. But I desire in an especial manner, representing and speaking for the colored people, to tender to you, Judge Kelley, my profound acknowledgments. Your late and exhaustive argument in the national House of Representatives on the vital issue of reconstruction, wherein the claims of the colored people to the enjoyment of equal rights were so ably set forth and defended, is alike worthy the head of a statesman and the heart of a philanthropist.

And may I be allowed, ladies and gentlemen, the expression of the opinion that this country will never know peace until the colored people are equal in rights to the white people. Until to all men, irrespective of their color, there shall be a full and practical recognition of equal civil and political rights. And at this consummation, as the French poet, Lamartine, beautifully said, the immortal Wilberforce appeared before the throne of God, bearing in his hand the broken fetters of eight hundred thousand emancipated bondmen, so shall the prayers of four millions of disenthralled American bondmen in our land call down from Heaven blessings upon the heads of the noble men and women who have been faithful to the great principles of human freedom.

Judge Kelley then appeared amid extravagant bursts of applause. He greeted the meeting with the words of the apostle, "I have labored, and I was not weary." He was so little competent to speak to-night. It was to the President of this association, Mr. William Still, that he was indebted for his subject—"The War, and the Rights of Humanity." And of what he could he speak? England begins to understand that a Slave in America is greater than an English slave; and England is beginning to understand that America has difficulties to settle with her. The speaker, however, would not descend upon this, nor upon the atrocities committed upon Union prisoners; nor upon the magnanimity of the African-American people; nor upon the fact that the colored man, woman and child there, extra muros, was treated as in any other place upon God's footstool. Yet in Massachusetts there is no distinction of persons on account of color.

We have tried to say to our Declaration of Independence does not refer to all men. We exclude four millions from its benefits. We have denied to them the fact of their own existence, save as we could make them useful to ourselves; and we have tried in it to deceive the all-seeing God; and on bended knee, before our Maker, we have prayed that our trespasses be forgiven as we forgive those of others, and quietly added, "except the d—n—d niggers," and our Liberator friends emphatically added, "except the d—n—d niggers." (Applause.) He is a God of justice, and His justice shall not be forever mocked, and He means that on bended knee they shall cease to lie to Him.

Says some good citizen, do you mean to admit negroes to citizenship all over the country? That is just what I mean. (Applause.) They who first came here from England came for liberty. For it they left the graves of their ancestors. For it they encountered savage beasts, and still more savage men. And on the soil of New England, as on that of Pennsylvania, sprang up a people in whom the love of liberty was ingrained. They sought to build up a State in which the love of liberty should be prevalent; that courts of law would not be required, and from that came the arbitrations so troublesome at the present day. The sons of New England have carried the germ of that liberty across the continent. God preserve this country from rule of monarch, lord, or baron! (Applause.) We are but ten days from the kingdoms of Europe; but a few days more from the sluggish myriads of Asia. We are situated to command the trade of the world, and here we should found and perpetuate a pure democracy, with powers subject only to the revision of the people.

To do this we must accept the negro. Our fathers did it, and they were blessed. (Applause.) The records of all the States show that down to 1812, outside of South Carolina, the free negro was a citizen and a voter. We have degraded the sons of our revolutionary sires alone changed it, and brought about the system now in vogue among us. Our country up to this time was blessed with not being superstitious. The speaker could not recur to the time when South Carolina, by inserting the word "white" in a territorial bill, made Missouri a slave State. Ever since then, our lands have ceased to be of steady value, our commerce and manufactures have been so fluctuating that we have been, at times, obliged to import operatives from Europe. Our interests have been as unstable as the seas. Out of every hundred merchants, eighty have failed. Of course we have prospered and grown, but slavery has been a fearful injury. All history

fails to show the fortunes of a people so unstable as those of the American people from 1820 to 1860. The speaker continued to trace the successive eras in the political history of the country. In 1787 and '88 the question of continuing the African slave trade was agitated. Georgia and South Carolina demanded its continuance. The north did not, but so long as they secured peace, they did not care. They suited the whites, and they "threw the nigger in." No one can be offended at this phrase. It is but the national slang. (Applause.) The slaves brought into the country during twenty years, enabled them to obtain an ascendancy that began to provoke this war. Eloquent men in Virginia proclaimed that slavery was weakness rather than strength, that it was crime. James Madison used the term "persons held to service," instead of slave, as conscious of the crime being committed against God and man.

The speaker showed how into each new territory slaves were hurried as they more recently were into Kansas, and the descendants of Revolutionary sires, forgetting all that their fathers had achieved, inserted the word "white" in a territorial bill. And in 1850, Roger B. Taney, whose name is now infamous, (here a burst of applause lasted for some minutes) declared that the negro had no rights that the white man was bound to respect. We owed the continued enslavement of Missouri, Maryland and Tennessee to the manufacturers of Connecticut, who preferred peace and traffic to truth and justice. The voice of Connecticut was thought to be the voice of New England, and the contest was given up. Northern men were to blame for all this.

We sold ourselves to the devil, and what have we done with the money? (Applause.) The men of the South now ask us to oppose them no longer, but to let them fight for their freedom and human status. Look at Louisiana. Each ticket was for a free State government. That which provided equal rights to all was defeated. So was that ticket in Arkansas. And the true men in both States went to Congress, asking if, for God's sake, to keep out the men elected to represent those States. (Loud applause.) Believing in voting early and voting often, the opponents of liberty took excursions on election day, voting everywhere in their way from sunrise to sunset. Faithful Ben Butler (applause) had been disposed of, and the rebel emissaries plied their calling at the election.

It would be very pleasant to give pardoned traitors the government of Louisiana. These people propose to put away a hundred thousand people who are their brothers, uncles, aunts, &c. They propose to make up a nice party by themselves, and have everything Melane, as the boys say. The so-called Senate and Legislature of Louisiana contain over thirty men who are policemen in Louisiana. There cannot be a more corrupt government—the Fourth ward of Philadelphia is nothing to it—than the free State government of Louisiana. Let the government not be recognized until it recognizes the negro man as entitled to citizenship, and its members themselves will be so fond of the African citizen as to swear that they even have a tinge of African blood in their own veins. Yet, out of 48 parishes, there are but nine in the State, in which the United States government can permit supplies to be sent without a special permit. The people have nothing but the slave-driver's contempt for us. "So help me God," continued the speaker, "I will never vote for such an oligarchy. Wait another Congress, and under the lead of Flanders—God bless him—Louisiana will come to us a free State." (Defeating applause.)

The speaker read from a paper published in New Orleans, edited, owned and controlled by colored people. It is published both in French and English; and the editors deriving their education from Parisian colleges, their French is much superior to that of their neighbors. He read articles concerning his own views, and showing that the present State government of Louisiana does not entitle it to admission into the union of States, such as those of the North. The eloquent Judge spoke fully two hours, urging that either we must accept the negro as a citizen or abandon our institutions. No other course was possible. The speaker was listened to throughout with great attention, save when hearty applause showed the effect that he produced.—Philadelphia Gazette.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 1865.

I REPEAT THE DECLARATION MADE A YEAR AGO, THAT WHILE I REMAIN IN MY POSITION, I SHALL NOT ATTEMPT TO RETRACT OR MODIFY THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, NOR SHALL I RETURN TO SLAVERY ANY PERSON WHO IS FREE BY THE TERMS OF THAT PROCLAMATION, OR BY ANY OF THE ACTS OF CONGRESS. IF THE PEOPLE SHOULD, BY WHATEVER MEANS OR MEANS, MAKE IT AN EXECUTIVE DUTY TO RE-ENSLEAVE SUCH PERSONS, ANOTHER, AND NOT I, MUST BE THE INSTRUMENT TO PERFORM IT.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Thirty-Second Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the city of New York, on Tuesday, May 9th, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The Executive Committee urge upon all the members of the Society a prompt attendance at this meeting. The questions to come before it are of the greatest importance. Some members of the Committee propose, in view of the almost certain ratification of the Anti-Slavery Amendment of the United States Constitution, to dissolve the Society at this annual meeting; while others would postpone such dissolution until the ratification of that Amendment is officially proclaimed; and others, still, advocate continuing the Society's existence until all the civil rights of the negro are secured.

Besides this, whichever of these views receives the sanction of the Society, there is the further question whether the Standard shall be continued.

On these and other accounts, our deliberations will be most interesting and important, and ought to assemble all the members and earnest friends of the Society.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Secretary.
C. C. BURLEIGH.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The approaching anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society is one that should be well represented by its members and auxiliary Societies, for the reasons stated in the official call of its Executive Committee. It is not only desirable, but to a certain extent important, that whoever may be the conclusion then arrived at as to the continuance or dissolution of the Society, there should be a full attendance, and a thoughtful consideration of the whole subject before coming together. It will be an anniversary held under circumstances wholly unlike any that has preceded it; for the doom of slavery has been decreed by the nation, and the year of jubilee is come.

On the 8th of November, 1864, the question of amending the Constitution of the United States so as to make it illegal for any person to be held in slavery in any State or Territory in the Union was submitted to the popular vote, and sustained by an overwhelming majority. On the 31st of January last, the U. S. House of Representatives concurred with the Senate in submitting the aforesaid amendment to the Legislatures of the several States for their approval or rejection. Eighteen of the twenty-five States, competent to decide upon it, have promptly recorded an almost unanimous vote in favor of the measure. Three only have rejected it—New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky—the only States that opposed the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the only States whose loyalty is open to suspicion. Of the concurrence of all the other States, at the earliest opportunity, there is no room for doubt; so that, while only one more State is needed to make the requisite number (three-fourths) specified by the Constitution, it is certain that four more States—i. e. 22 out of 35—will give their cordial sanction to the amendment. Even if the vote

of any re-constructed State is to be consulted, and made essential to an official recognition of the constitutional abolition of slavery—an absurdity which we believe will be scouted by the people, and by the Supreme Court of the United States, if an appeal be made to it—still, as no such State can be recognized by Congress or the Government, except it rest upon an anti-slavery basis, there can be no motive for it to oppose the amendment; the adoption of which, therefore, by whatever number of States may be finally agreed upon, is beyond all doubt or anxiety. Nothing remains to be done but certain formalities, in order to make the extinction of slavery, and the right of every human being on the American soil to personal freedom as against any slave claimant, an acknowledged fact, to be enforced by all the powers of the government.

Hence, the grand object of the American Anti-Slavery Society is accomplished. No longer are agents or tracts needed to convince the people that slavery is a wrong and curse which ought to be immediately abolished; that there is, and ever must be, an irrepressible conflict between free and slave institutions; that the rebellion is divine retribution for our national sin of oppression. No further teaching of this kind is called for. Neither Church nor State, neither army nor people require it. Their minds are made up, and their verdicts recorded. Nothing is so popular as the hearty denunciation of slavery, root and branch. The most eloquent and powerful anti-slavery speeches are no longer made by abolitionists. Where we have only whispered, others can now applaudingly speak in thunder-tones, as readily in Savannah or Charleston as in Boston and New York, and wherever the flag goes. As drops are lost in the ocean, so are the original anti-slavery men and women lost among the millions who have come over to their side, and are crushing the "peculiar institution" beneath their massive weight. Once separate and distinct from the great mass of the community, the abolitionists are no longer "fanatical" or singular in anything that they demand for the colored race, whether relating to their liberation from chattel servitude, their education and elevation, or their complete enfranchisement as a matter of justice and safety. It seems to us, therefore, that the time for disbanding the American Anti-Slavery Society, and all its auxiliaries, has fully come; that their longer existence will at best be merely nominal, and, consequently, neither advantageous nor desirable; that they have done their work as anti-slavery bodies, and may now wind up their operations with credit and dignity; and that they will exhibit weakness rather than wisdom, egoism rather than good sense, in assuming that they may be as indispensable in the future as they certainly have been in the past. It is for them to see, and greatly rejoice at the fact, that their cause is now myriad-handed, too powerful to be resisted in any direction, and sweeping onward with the force of Niagara.

"Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage." Let there be no feeble lingering of life on their part, merely on technical issues—such as that the requisite number of States have not yet adopted the constitutional amendment, or that the emancipated slaves have not yet been brought from the auction-block to the ballot-box. If anything is determined in this struggle, and by the nation, it is the utter and everlasting extinction of slavery. All controversy has ended about it. No sane man doubts that all the States are a unit on the constitutional amendment, and will so record their votes as fast as legislative opportunity is presented, excepting the three semi-seceded, copperhead States that have already done their worst. Where there is neither doubt nor uncertainty, there is no cause for suspicion or delay.

"It is done!
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down!
How the bravest roared and reel!
How the great guns peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!"

For the Lord
On the whirlwind is abroad;
In the earthquake he has spoken;
He has smitten with his thunder
The iron walls of sin,
And the gates of brass are broken!"

As for the political status of the liberated bondmen, that question—important as it is—does not require a separate anti-slavery organization, but it is to be argued and settled upon its own merits; and is already challenging the attention of all parties in the land, and will be sustained or opposed without reference to the question of abolitionism *per se*. No doubt it will give rise to new associations and new measures, which will tend to whatever of zeal or devotion may be called for in the struggle for political equality, without regard to complexional distinctions.

Believing, therefore, that the American Anti-Slavery Society, reverently thanking God for having made it a signal instrumentality for saving the nation from destruction by effecting the abolition of slavery, and rejoicing that henceforth there is to be in our land neither slaveholder nor slave,—may with propriety, credit and advantage dissolve its organization at the coming annual meeting; we shall give our voice and vote for this conclusion; leaving the members of the Society to continue or end its existence as they shall think most expedient.

M. D. CONWAY.

We publish an interesting letter from THOMAS H. BARKER, Esq., of Manchester, England, which is mainly in reference to an abusive and discreditable article which appeared some time since in *Fraser's Magazine*, from the pen of Moncure D. Conway, concerning President Lincoln in special, and his administration generally, with some incidental personal assaults upon others. That article we have not seen; but the extracts which Mr. Barker has made from it, as illustrating its spirit and object, are sufficient to show its author to be in no enviable state of mind. Ever since he has been in England, he has been performing various "fantastic tricks before high heaven,"—beginning with making a treasonable overture to the rebel commissioner, Mason of Virginia, and ending with a proposition for the recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy, on condition that it will abolish the slavery on its soil which, on the first of January, 1863, was abolished by Abraham Lincoln, whom to caricature and misrepresent, in the true Virginia spirit, appears to give him constant employment and uncommon delight. He has been a mischievous chief-maker ever since he landed in England. Instead of bestowing his special attention upon the rebel emissaries and their sympathizers, and endeavoring to strengthen the administration and government of this country in the good-will of Europeans, he has improved every opportunity to bring the President and his measures into contempt; and just in proportion, too, as progress has been made in the right direction! Nothing can evince more strongly his meanness and malignity than his grouping Abraham Lincoln with "the Polks, Fillmores, Pierces and Buchanans" of our country, and describing him, after the manner of rebel and copperhead blackguards, as "long and lank as the traditional Yankee; lean and hungry as the 'poor white' of the South that he was born in; with the arm of a Hoosier that can 'whip his weight in wild-cat'; with a backward length of skull and feeble occiput," &c., &c. Again, his effrontery and mendacity are brought out in bold relief in his monstrous assertion—"Never before in America has a President been elected, so detested by his own electors as Abraham Lincoln!"—I followed by another assertion equally astounding, "This I say with hundreds of documents before me to prove it!" The exact truth is, that no President has ever been so highly appreciated and warmly supported (George Washington excepted) as by his own electors as Abraham Lincoln; and the attempt of Mr. Conway to decry him will only recoil upon himself.

Mr. Barker is Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance for the suppression of interference, and an active and influential executive officer of the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society.

FRATERNITY FESTIVAL.

The seventh anniversary of the Parker Fraternity was celebrated last Friday evening by a festive meeting at their spacious and beautiful rooms, 564 Washington Street. A large number of the friends of the Fraternity united with its members to celebrate this occasion, the arrangements were skillfully made by the committees which had them in charge, and the result was a joyous and delightful festival.

Upon and around the desk were beautiful bouquets. A hand occupied the musician's gallery, and introduced with its lively strains the performances of the evening. A well-selected choir of singers sat near the platform, and songs, duets, quartets were given with good effect in the intervals of speaking.

The President of the Fraternity, Mr. Charles E. Felt, read a brief and interesting address, referring to various circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the Society, and making suggestions in regard to its present and future usefulness. Next followed remarks, humorous and sentimental, from Mr. John Wetherbee, Jr. Then excellent addresses were made by William Lloyd Garrison and Rev. S. R. Callthrop. A letter was then read from Rev. David A. Wason, regretting that circumstances prevented him from attending the meeting, and giving friendly and judicious counsel to the Association. A final speech had been expected from Hon. George Thompson, who was present; but that gentleman thought fit, instead, to read a passage from a poem, of which he expressed great admiration, Montgomery's "Pelican Island."

After the speaking and singing, a short interval was given to social conversation and promenade, and then the party ascended to the supper-room in the next story, where a handsome collation was spread for them. After an hour spent in harmonious and appreciative discussion of this part of the entertainment, the members and guests of the Fraternity returned to the Hall, which had in the meantime been cleared for dancing. With this agreeable and salutary exercise the Festival of the Parker Fraternity was closed; and, lest any one should suspect the dancing to have been unduly protracted, it may be mentioned that even those who staid latest went away early.—C. K. W.

NEW ENGLAND FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETY. A special meeting of this Society was held on Tuesday evening, at the Melodeon. E. Atkinson presided, and made a few introductory remarks. Rev. Dr. F. Tompkins, of England, who has recently returned from a visit to the freedmen of the South, addressed the meeting. He made some statements of the various interesting things he had seen and heard, and referred to some length to the course taken by England in American affairs. The meeting was subsequently addressed by George Thompson, of England, in an eloquent and an effective manner.

The meeting was thinly attended, evidently for the want of a general knowledge that it would be held. This was a matter of regret—especially as Dr. Tompkins has proved himself to be one of the warmest friends and most earnest advocates of the cause of our government and country in England, and deserved, therefore, a strong popular greeting in Boston.

SUNDAY SERVICES. A public meeting under the auspices of the Ward Eleven Freedmen's Aid Society was held Sunday evening in the Shawmut Universalist Church, Shawmut Avenue. The President, E. W. Kinsley, Esq., occupied the chair, and the religious exercises were conducted by Rev. Sumner Ellis, associate pastor of the Universalist Society. Rev. T. B. Thayer, Rev. James M. Sims of Savannah—brother of the fugitive Thomas Sims, who was sent back into slavery from Boston a few years since,—and Rev. Sumner Ellis urged the importance of aiding the freedmen.

Miss Della A. Webster delivered an address in the Tremont Temple, Sunday evening, relating to her imprisonment by slaveholders at different times in the State of Kentucky, her encounters with guerillas and other savages.

A temperance address was delivered, under the auspices of the Suffolk Temperance Union, Sunday evening, by Rev. Mr. Manning, in the Old South Church. At the close of the exercises, the pledge was circulated, and two hundred and fifty-five signatures obtained.

BANGOR, March 22, 1865. MY DEAR MR. GARRISON—Enclosed you will find three dollars and fifty cents for the Liberator, from January 1st, 1865, to January 1st, 1866.

I have been long wanting to write to assure you of my cordial approval of the course you have pursued towards the Administration. With you, I can exclaim, thank God for Abraham Lincoln! I know he has not always done all I could have wished; but the regret that he has not done more shall not prevent me from rejoicing that he has done so much. We are so much nearer the high water mark of complete anti-slavery triumph than I ever expected we should be in my day, that I will not place myself out of sympathy with the spirit of the day by any captious criticism or unreasonable demand, but rather hail each advancing wave with a glad thanksgiving. We shall best secure the future by gratefully receiving the good of the present, and working from that in patience and large hope.

Yours, for universal freedom and equal justice,
A. BATTLES.

LEOMINSTER, March 20, 1865.

At a public meeting of the Leominster Freedmen's Aid Society, held on the evening of March 19th, an address of great power was delivered by Mr. FRANKS E. W. HARRIS, a colored lady of culture and refinement, whose eloquence in behalf of her people, and in interpreting the mission of the war, held the undivided attention of a large audience for over an hour.

It was with great pleasure that I recommend Mr. HARRIS to all friends of truth as a lecturer of peculiar power. Her address was characterized by clearness of thought, remarkable facility of language, and an action from on high. We believe she is doing yeoman service for truth, and bid her God speed.

SAMUEL H. VIRGIN,
President Leominster Freedmen's Aid Society.

THE LATE DANIEL FOSTER.

DEAR FRIEND—I am glad to respond, according to my ability, to the appeal in the last Liberator, in behalf of the family of the Christian patriot, DANIEL FOSTER. It is a privilege to contribute to the payment of the debt that humanity owes to his memory.

"Who would not sing for Lycidas—himself could sing." Who would not contribute for the family of one whose whole life was a contribution for the whole human family? Among the highest names on the right roll of those who watched for and foresaw the nation's peril, and helped to arouse the sleeping patriotism of the country,—among those champions of mercy and justice, earnest in counsel and fearless in fight, who counted not their own lives dear, nor even the darker interests of their loved ones, when the Master's service required the sacrifice,—among all who have labored in the vineyard, and have trod the red wine-press of God's husbandry, none, in faithfulness and bravery, have exceeded DANIEL FOSTER, "the tender and true." He trusted his wife and children to the protection of God, and the just generosity of his country—for whose cause he laid down his life. The appeal in his behalf is an honorable claim. It is a grateful privilege as well as a sacred duty to honor it.

Yours,
DANIEL MANN,
A. A. Surg. U. S. A. Mt. Pleasant Hospital, Washington, D. C. March 27th, 1865.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. The Legislative Committee, to whom was referred the subject of capital punishment, have agreed to report that it is inexpedient to legislate at the present time in reference to a repeal of the law.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XXX.

NEW YORK, March 23, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

You may remember, as every one had cause to who came in contact with him, encountering Mr. Richard Yeaton, of South Carolina, not after the Southern fashion with deadly weapons, but with words, in the parlor of the late Theodore Parker. Mr. Yeaton was then on a tour through the North, and was laboring under the idea that his movements deserved to be publicly chronicled,—by his own hand, if no other would do the office for him. The incident of meeting that distinguished agitator whose head had by statute a marketable value in the State adjoining his own, was not to be passed over in silence, and the Herald of this city was indulgent enough to allow him to edit one of its issues (such was the prolixity of the man!) in which his discussion of the slavery question was ready to his hand, and he was not to be lost to posterity. That was in the days when the Herald alone could publish inflammatory articles, and yet be circulated at the South, and doubtless Mr. Yeaton's report was widely read in that quarter. I remember that he then bore testimony, as he ever afterwards did, to the perfect courtesy of his opponent, who was always ready to be interrupted, and give the fullest hearing to the other side; and if this is a commendable quality in ordinary debate, it was a virtue with as verbose a fellow. Mr. Yeaton eventually returned to his home, but still he had inflicted several further letters upon the community, and bored his friends and foes alike. I think his latest appearance was in Charleston, where he introduced Mr. Everett as the "laureator of Washington," and betrayed his ancient infidelity of what part, if any, he took in consummating the secession of his native State, I do not know. That he has been in hearty sympathy with the rebellion, I am informed, apart from his general notoriety, by a personal friend of his, a clergyman, who stuck to his loyalty to liberty and Union, and somehow to Charleston, till a month before its capture, when he escaped in a blockade-runner, and reached this port. In perhaps his last interview with Mr. Yeaton, the latter said to him: "You and I, Mr. R., have differed totally on this question, [secession and slavery,] but I now admit that you were right, and I was wrong." This conviction cannot have been weakened since that conversation.

Somewhere, we must presume, between the James River and the Neuse, the unhappy exile is pondering the consequences of an error which was worse than crime. The somewhat famous interrogatory—"Why don't you go South?"—which you were once at the pains to answer, when propounded at Faneuil Hall by your "Yankee" Court, has not less effectively been silenced by the abolitionists since the war began. I mean abolitionists in the broadest sense. There was a very good reason why they should not go South when the act involved the making of last wills and testaments, as in a Roman army before a battle. Their object was, like Archimedes, to move the world, and in seeking for a place to stand on, they were not likely to choose the gallows. Not that they were afraid of death, but that they had a divine burden which was not to be rashly laid down. When, however, the time for converting the North had past, because the designs of slavery upon its life were manifest, then those who had labored for the downfall of the system, under whatever name and by whatever means, did rush to the South. Thousands donned the blue coat of the volunteer, and carried their principles with their flag from the Ohio to the Gulf. Massachusetts sent her quota with the motto of the Commonwealth, never halt so glorious as when the epitaph of some heroic martyr, whose rest in Southern soil was easy since his sword had made it free—

"Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem."

Mr. Phillips was represented by that lamented nephew who perished untimely at Port Royal, from excessive devotion to the cause of the freedmen. The other day your son, a double ambassador for yourself and Mr. Thompson, halted his company of colored soldiers in the streets of Charleston, but found no Richard Yeaton to uphold the divinity of slavery, or to renew the acquaintance formed with his father. John Brown has his representative at the same focus of treason and oppression—Mr. Redpath, who has had the honor and audacity to inaugurate a system of public schools in Charleston, with no prejudice against color—i. e., against the whites, who are permitted to attend, if they will only behave themselves, and obey their (may be) colored teachers! You, who recall the loathing of the chivalry for our free institutions, from press to school-house, and how they destroyed our papers in the mail, and emasculated our text-books, before they would allow them to be used at the South, with what feelings do you read, in the correspondence of the Tribune, that at Charleston "all rebel school-books have been ordered to be delivered up. Receipts are given to their owners for—copies of incendiary publications confiscated!" Language at last is returning to its legitimate meaning. It followed our twisted morals in obeying the evil loadstone of slavery. Ere long it will point due North again, and swear, we hope, no more forever.

If the freedmen should compare their experiences at the end of the way, how multifarious and diverse they would be! Some have obtained their liberty, as of old, by fleeing to the Free States, within our army lines, or to our blockading fleet; others have been abandoned by their masters; others still have been taken out of bondage into the army. Thousands, when thus freed, have joined the Federal forces as laborers, teamsters, &c.; thousands have volunteered as soldiers, and thousands been compelled to military service. Of those who, for whatever reasons of age, debility or sex, have escaped enlistment, some have been left in the nakedness of slavery to shift as best they might; others, like those of Georgetown, S. C., under the orders of Admiral Dahlgren, have been furnished by their late owners with sixty days' rations; others, like the freedmen in the Department of the Gulf, have been constrained to labor at fixed wages; others, as in the eastern district of Virginia, under the equitable rule of Lieut.-Col. White, have been constrained to labor, but for competitive wages; and others, finally, as at Port Royal, have been left under less stringent regulations to develop habits of industry and maintain their independence. These diversities are characteristic of the unsettled state of affairs occasioned by the war, and are to be attributed to the lapse of time which has been covered by hostilities, the necessities of different localities, and the impossibility of concert on the part of subordinate.

The uniformity has not been greater since we obtained military unity in the Lieutenant-General; for though the military have had almost exclusive dealing with the freed people, they have been charged with really extra-official duties, their business being to suppress the rebellion in arms, and not to reorganize society. It must be said for the blacks, that they have submitted with the most exemplary patience to the various experiments that have been tried upon them. Their good nature seems inexhaustible, so that the very defectiveness of certain schemes in which they are involved is obscured by their endurance and relative happiness. The last test of their patience has been made in Richmond, at the instance of Davis and Lee, and with the approval of President Lincoln. They are to be bayoneted into fighting for whips and handcuffs. It will be pitiable if they are forced to be dangerous to their deliverers under Grant and Sherman, or to be exposed to danger themselves. They are certain to desert at the first opportunity, and may even turn a crisis of battle by a right-about-face in which their muzzles will point toward Richmond. Jeff. Davis was right in chiding the delay of the rebel Congress in arming the negro. They have left only time enough to train him to be a peril to themselves, and no reinforcement against the impending doom. The night as well as light for succor to the ghost of Nat Turner!

Mr. Phillips was represented by that lamented nephew who perished untimely at Port Royal, from excessive devotion to the cause of the freedmen. The other day your son, a double ambassador for yourself and Mr. Thompson, halted his company of colored soldiers in the streets of Charleston, but found no Richard Yeaton to uphold the divinity of slavery, or to renew the acquaintance formed with his father. John Brown has his representative at the same focus of treason and oppression—Mr. Redpath, who has had the honor and audacity to inaugurate a system of public schools in Charleston, with no prejudice against color—i. e., against the whites, who are permitted to attend, if they will only behave themselves, and obey their (may be) colored teachers! You, who recall the loathing of the chivalry for our free institutions, from press to school-house, and how they destroyed our papers in the mail, and emasculated our text-books, before they would allow them to be used at the South, with what feelings do you read, in the correspondence of the Tribune, that at Charleston "all rebel school-books have been ordered to be delivered up. Receipts are given to their owners for—copies of incendiary publications confiscated!" Language at last is returning to its legitimate meaning. It followed our twisted morals in obeying the evil loadstone of slavery. Ere long it will point due North again, and swear, we hope, no more forever.

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